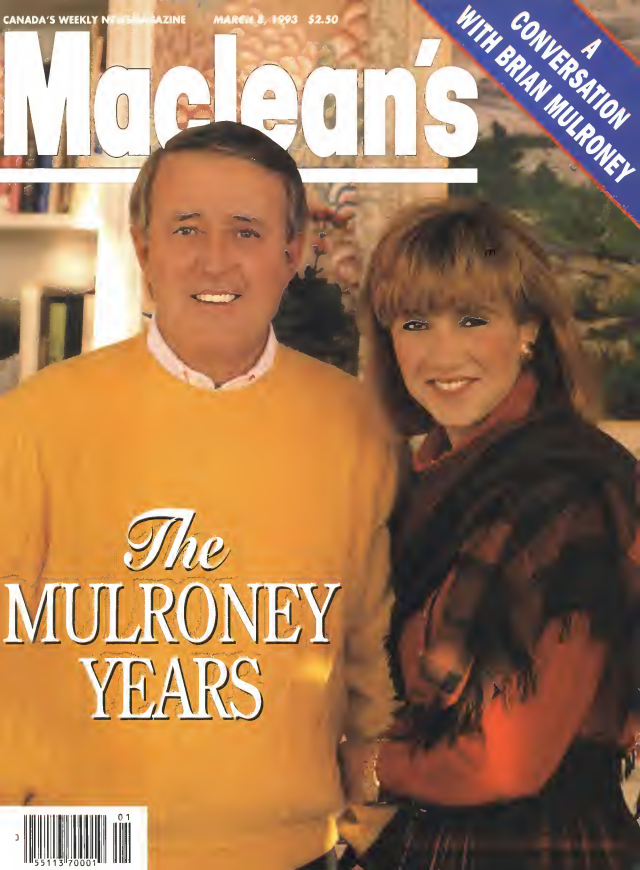


CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE

MARCH 8, 1993 \$2.50

Maclean's

A
CONVERSATION
WITH BRIAN MULRONEY



The MULRONEY YEARS



Because her nose wrinkles
when she laughs.
And she's there to catch little
boys when they fall.
Because this month is her
Birthday.
And this Birthday girl
will never feel too old
to rock 'n roll.

Diamonds.
Just because you love her.

A diamond is forever.

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Maclean's CONTENTS

The Mulroney Years

Brian Mulroney seemed like an unlikely politician to tug Canada towards the stark realities of the 21st century. His honeyed voice, in fact, seemed more suited to lavish promises than belt-tightening lectures. His mannerisms and choice of words often suggested backroom wheeling and dealing rather than idealistic commitment. But when Mulroney announced his intention to resign as Prime Minister last week, he could claim to have presided over a period of revolutionary change in Canadian society. The Canada of 1984—with its broad social programs and its high economic expectations—had vanished. Instead, the politicians who have already begun to jockey for Mulroney's mantle will, for better or worse, lead a nation more attuned to paying more and receiving less. But as he says in an interview, Mulroney is now more "curious about the future" than preoccupied with the past.

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Mulroney's New Directions

Family, he was comfortable with himself and his world. In a two-hour conversation in a private family room at 24 Sussex Drive last week, Martin Brian Mulroney looked back, sometimes warily, sometimes in frustration and often with evident pleasure at his nearly 5½ years as Canada's Prime Minister. If he has any regrets at leaving the job after a successor is chosen in June, he disguises them exquisitely. In the fall, he will return to Montreal with his family, practice law and become active in his alma mater of St. Francis Xavier and Laval universities. This Mulroney is animated, highly entertaining, with a Montrealeis's unique sense of humor. It is not the Mulroney that most Canadians came to know—and stay to dislike—during his time in power. That Mulroney often appeared to be staid, wooden, calculating and insouciant.

His policies, from free trade to the GST and privatization were highly controversial, even revolutionary, and fair game for attack. But a combination of factors too often led to unfounded attacks against the prime minister. In the closed world of Ottawa, it has become unfashionable for reporters, especially the so-called young fogies, to mingle with politicians and bureaucrats because of a concern that contact can lead to compromise. At the same time, the politicians themselves, perhaps because many of them belong to an older age group, have set themselves apart from the media corps. It would require an extensive study to provide a balanced assessment of the merits of that development. But the immediate result has been the opening of a deep gulf of distrust and hostility between the two sides. No one walked cross from that than Mulroney. Some of the general attacks on him and his family have been vicious. Now, he says, he is able to put it all behind him and, added, "I'm more curious about the future." Perhaps. But lingering and forgetting would make him a stronger man than most.



Brian and Milla Mulroney, his prime minister highly controversial and fair game for attack

Kevin O'Day

McGraw-Hill

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mazda
IT JUST FEELS RIGHT



The man who did what he knew was right

BY DIANE FRANCIS

Brian Mulroney has been a gutsy Prime Minister who deserves plus for the lessons he will leave behind. Under his guidance, the ship of state is in better shape than when he first took command. Back in September, 1984 the vessel was leaking and all course Mulroney and his party needed the shoals of a second election and negotiated as it sailed.

Of course, critics will say that the economy is not in great shape and that it is Mulroney's fault. But there are reasons beyond the control of this government for the negative news these days. Unemployment plagues every industrialized country because of massive shifts in manufacturing. Besides, economic policy is not a problem in Canada any more. Thanks to Mulroney's government, excessive social spending is

like other leaders. Mulroney was unique by the very traits that got him to the top. His courage and willingness to take a gamble opened all sorts of new horizons. Prime Minister for two terms, but risk-taking and decisiveness made him a conqueror. Not every president, he sometimes came across as rocky, which gave him an image problem.

But history will remember Mulroney as having the courage to bring about many needed reforms, the most urgent of which was the controversial Free Trade Agreement (FTA)—a deal that gave this country an enviable opportunity to sell freely into the world's richest marketplace. The figures prove its wisdom: sales to the United States rose \$17.5 billion in 1992, up from \$87.3 billion in 1988, an increase of 62 per cent. The club is unmatched by any G-7 nation.

Meanwhile, at home, politicians claim that the loss of 130,000 jobs was caused chiefly because of free trade. But the Canadian Manufacturing Association estimates that the loss's share of job declines was caused by low commodity prices, the U.S. and Canadian recession, a higher

Canadian dollar and poor sales by the Big Three American automakers. And the pain is spread worldwide. California, with its economy slightly larger than Canada's, has lost about 170,000 jobs since the 1989-91 recession.

Unemployment figures are also inflated in Canada. Much unemployment here is not due to bad economic policy but due to bad social policy. People on welfare do not get benefits. Welfare is open ended, guaranteeing whether it's the sudden collapse of so-called political refugees or sponsored relatives, has increased unemployment by letting in hundreds of thousands of people lacking required skills. Many impeded by assistance. The Tories have refused to address some of these problems before the House of Commons. Other parties won't touch the issue.

When evaluating Mulroney, one must also consider what the alternative would have been like. The first year in power, the Tories posted a whopping \$36.5-billion deficit in the spring of 1985 thanks to Liberal mismanagement the year before. In real terms, too, that would amount to a \$51-billion deficit and a few years of that would have been disastrous.

Not surprisingly, a 1985 foreigner withdrew \$5 billion in direct investments from Canada. The Tories slashed the budget and, in hindsight, should have cut more. But, faced with cries of outrage from unions and other special-interest groups, they took the middle road, keeping the deficit below the revenue to the rest of the economy. Still, the deficit grew by about \$10 billion during the next eight years, less than the interest paid on debts they incurred. They did that by becoming the most fiscally responsible administration in the country, averaging government spending increases of 2.7 per cent per year, from 1981 until 1985, compared with previous averages of 7.2 per cent.

Besides a fiscal sense, Mulroney inherited a rocky relationship with the Americans and with Alberta. Though under trade pacts and government order, the Liberals had alienated many sectors and politicians in our biggest resource nation. There were also discriminatory taxes and confliction provisions in the National Energy Program. But Mulroney immediately set about to restore good relations with both.

Next came a flurry of important reforms that have made our economy more efficient and more equitable, oil-price discounts, the creation of an election Commission Act for the first time in our history, imposition of tougher financial institution regulations and improved government procurement policies. Mulroney also declared Canada open for business by scrapping the damaging Foreign Investment Review Agency and by attracting in rich entrepreneurial immigrants. The result was a turnaround from a net foreign investment decline in 1985 of \$2 billion to a total year-to-year increase of \$20 billion from 1986 to the third quarter of 1992. Increasing direct investment, reorganizing job creation, which wasn't occurring under the autarkic, anti-American and anti-foreigner sentiment policies of old.

Mulroney's late was probably sealed when he replaced the hidden anti-American sales tax, which caused it to suffer, with the low-profile Goods and Services Tax. Such a tax was political suicide for anyone, but the G.S.T. is an important reform. If only to prevent spooked Canadians daily that there is no free lunch. "Everyone knows you're going to get burned with a hot date," he told me months later in a interview.

Undaunted, he plunged into two doomed constitutional fights. His first, Meech Lake, was rebuffed; then voters soundly rejected last year's constitutional referendum. But it was his second, the Mironiuk, that made the most politicians weep: defeat. Like the 1988 election, a 6-1 vote referendum on free trade, Mulroney didn't shy away from risks. And by asking approval from the people directly, he reversed the high-handedness that characterized his predecessors with their distant policies. It is any better times it was only a matter of time before Brian Mulroney, the middle-class boy with brains from Blue-Canada, would rule the dice in his cornered house.

The Mulroney Years

A SUDDENLY SERENE PRIME MINISTER QUITS, LAUNCHING A RACE FOR THE MANTLE OF POWER

On a freezing cold afternoon last week, twilight streamed through the windows of the room that for more than eight years has been a retreat for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and his family. The comfortably furnished family suite on the second floor of 24 Sussex Drive has been the acting for some of the family's most private moments—as well as for some of the Prime Minister's most important political decisions. Mike Mulroney and the children's aunts and uncles were to play the piano that was in a corner, or to rest on one of the three floral-print couches, sending some of the hundreds of books that line the shelves along one wall. On other occasions, Mulroney has invited his closest advisers into the room to plot strategy for such initiatives as last fall's constitutional referendum. But politics was far from Mulroney's mind as he gazed out the window across the Ottawa River and at the snow-covered Gatineau Hills beyond. Still a smiling Mulroney, two days after announcing his intention to return from office. "This is a beautiful view, but it isn't here. And now it's time for someone else to pay the price."

In the days following his announcement, a relaxed, ebullient Mulroney clearly relished the prospect of a retreat to private life—but it was clearly an unusual time, as well. Since making his decision public on Feb. 24, the Prime Minister—according to one longtime friend—"has shed 10 years and 35 worry lines from his face." In a two-hour interview with *Maclean's*, he discussed tapes ranging from his relationship with U.S. President Bill Clinton to the Montreal Canadiens' chances of winning the

Stanley Cup (page 26). Of his own future, Mulroney said, "I look ahead with great curiosity." For now, he added, his plans include a cruise with his family to Montreal, a return to practicing law, some work with charitable foundations and involvements of an unspecified nature with his two former universities—St. Francis Xavier in Antigonish, N.S., and Laval in Quebec City. And, declared Mulroney, "I guarantee you, I'm going to be at the Forum every Saturday night with Nicolas and Mark. We won't miss a game. I will miss very few of the *Expo* games."

Visiting his home town of Beauport on Quebec's North Shore on the weekend, however, Mulroney's limited ability to conceal his emotions was public crutches. He looked across a crowd of about 200 people, including many who had been friends of his father, Ben, who died in 1965. Between long pauses, he thanked them for the kindness and support that he said they had showed him since childhood. "When someone does his best as he is able, he is disappointed by a standing ovation," Mike Mulroney and many people in the crowd also wept. Later, he said that there is a sense of collective emotion people who grew up in isolated regions, adding: "It stays with you for the rest of your life."

Agony: For those who hope to succeed him as prime minister, the immediate agonies leave little time for introspection. By the end of the week, only one opponent—Gord Turner, headbuckler for the Taxation and Finance Party—had publicly indicated his interest in running for the leadership of the Progressive Conservatives. But beyond the dark grey stone walls of 24 Sussex, Ottawa was awash in

anticipation and speculation. Within three days of Mulroney's announcement, a dozen Tory backbenchers and ministers were actively considering their chances (page 14). Many of them are expected to declare their intentions on or after March 8, when the party officially announces the new and historic law of leadership succession. Although it is almost certain that the vote will be held on Saturday, June 13, there are still four critical serious candidates as hot as the sun: Mulroney, Turner, and Winnipeg. In fact, senior party organizers said that they received detailed proposals from all four cities, along with several others, within minutes of his resignation announcement.

Those who are considered certain to enter the race include Defense Minister Kim Campbell and Employment Minister Jean Charest—the two likely front-runners according to some Tories—as well as late-term Trade Minister Michael Wilson and Communications Minister Fernan Botte. External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall, who cut short a tour of Asia to return home after Mulroney made his announcement, is weighing conflicting advice from friends on her chances. Two others, Employment and Immigration Minister Bernard Valcourt and Labor Minister Marcel Simard, have surprisingly gone north to the Yukon to consider their options. Others who have told colleagues that they are considering a run include Health and Welfare Minister Bobbie Bouchard and Finance Minister Donald Marshall, who may not join yet, and

Fighting questions after announcing his resignation, going from stressed and exhausted to relaxed and cheerful

of the country. Paradoxically, however, Jack says he has more difficulty than expected in picking up support in these house promises. Some Tories suspect that Campbell is unpopular among party members in British Columbia because of her relatively bland stance on social issues. But among potential independent candidates, she has a strong base of supporters in Quebec. Her late opponent, René Gagné, Lebel's a key ally, indeed, a Gallup poll conducted last week indicated that he would lose better in Quebec than Charest in a federal election. The poll also showed that only her colleague would put the Tories ahead even with the Liberals.

For his part, Charest may suffer among delegates because of the perception that the rest of the party is willing to replace Mulroney with another leader from that province. Offering that it is the likelihood that he will receive help from organizers for the provincial Liberal party, where he is well connected. And his efforts to improve popularity in Ottawa and outposts in a strong effort will help him outside the province.

Barry and Wilson, the two next-strongest candidates, have little support in Quebec and Atlantic Canada and will likely compete directly against each other for support in Toronto, much of the rest of Ontario and in the four western provinces.

By contrast, two other potential candidates—Dennis and Wilmet—

National Revenue Minister Denis Johnston and Douglas Lewis, the senior general. Backbenchers Turner could be joined by Toronto-area MP Patrick Boyer and Edmonton's James Edwards.

Well before Mulroney's announcement, some of the pre-tenders to his position had begun active, though unorthodox campaign. Conservative party sources said that supporters of Wilson commenced a poll three weeks ago to measure his popularity among party members. Mulroney's organizers have been tracking potential delegates by computer for a full year or so. Several of his cabinet colleagues say that the findings apparently indicate that he would gain strong support from the Prairie provinces as well as from his native Ontario. One Ontario-based politician told *Maclean's* that he has been contacted twice in the past three months by Tories who wanted to commission surveys on behalf of unnamed potential candidates.

Heretics: The candidates will face several major hurdles—updating the accuracy of raising a minimum of \$1 million to run a credible campaign. For most, they will have to expand their support beyond their own regions. Only two likely candidates—Campbell and Charest—appear to have a significant degree of support across much



TESTING THE WATERS

INSIDERS RATE THE TOP LEADERSHIP CANDIDATES

KIM CAMPBELL, 45,
Minister of National Defence
and Veterans Affairs

Campbell is more popular with the public than anyone. They like her—and more popular in Coastal Canada and the Atlantic provinces than in western and central Canada. In the 1984 election, her first try at federal politics, she won by a very slim margin. Before, she lost a campaign for the D.C. Social Credit leadership and then spent two years as a federal member of the legislature. There has been some concern recently that she would be handicapped to return her hometown, Vancouver Centre riding, where homosexual-rights activists have led a campaign against her because, they say, she moved too slowly as Justice Minister to strengthen gay rights.

Still, it is better known, Campbell may appeal to a public desire for new faces and new approaches to politics. Her fluency in French, and the fact that she campaigned vigorously in the West for the March 14th accord, have helped her gain support in Quebec political circles. Treasury Board president Gilles Lussier, for one, is a supporter. She is also seen by some as the Tory most likely to win an election. And, among those close to Mulroney, she is appreciated because she has associated neutrally in her quest for the leadership and showed herself an enthusiastic supporter of the Prime Minister when he previously vowed to stay on and fight another election.

But in spite of her senior position, Campbell has made few clear friends in Ottawa or among those in the party leadership. Senior Conservatives find Campbell, a lawyer and former academic, aloof and brought. Other elites resent her showing the liberal, citing her devotion to justice minister to lighten gay controls, strengthen homosexual rights and leave silence out of the Criminal Code against hate-motivated



JEAN CHAREST

in their circles is that the cabinet portfolio she has held—minister of state for Indian affairs as well as justice and defence and veterans affairs—have left her without exposure in relevant matters.

MICHAEL WILSON, 55,
Minister of International Trade

Wilson's high-business reputation—before entering politics he was executive vice-president of a major Bay Street investment firm—and his awarded strength among fiscally conservative Tory MPs would give him a head start in



KIM CAMPBELL

the leadership race. But that power is the party is unlikely to translate into national popularity. The former finance minister is directly associated with the Mulroney government's most unpopular economic policies—the Goods and Services Tax, free trade and government embargoes. But it is Wilson's pursuit of those policies that has made him a favorite of the Tory caucus: his colleagues view him as a man of principles who will fight for the

tough measures which, they argue, the country needs.

A suburban Toronto son since 1979, Wilson finished as fourth place during his first stab at the leadership in 1983. The greatest concern then was that he was too liberal, a complaint that elicits him. His weak French will be a huge handicap in Quebec, and his reputation as a Bay Street favorite will hurt him in Atlantic Canada and in the West.



MICHAEL WILSON

PERRIN BEATTY, 42,
Minister of Communications

For years, Beatty has received critics about his boyish looks—critics call him the romped stuffed shirt in the cabinet. But with two decades of experience in the Commons, Beatty has good connections as caucus and as the Tory party. When rumors about a possible leadership move began to circulate last year, supporters hailed the southern Ontario MP as the candidate who could best rally the right-wing and control factions of the party. At a November fundraising dinner for influential Tories in Toronto, he was embraced by lawyer Albertus, premier Peter Lougheed. But Beatty would have an uphill battle for support from the right in the face of Wilson's candidacy. After all, despite his years in Ottawa and his experience in seven cabinet portfolios, the Ontario political ally has never made much of a public impact. And although Beatty is bilingual, his image as a unbridled native of small-town Ontario has won him few fans in Quebec.

JOE CLARK, 53,
Minister Responsible for
Constitutional Affairs

Clark, who assumed on Feb. 20 that he stands to leave politics before the next general election, would not want to try to recognize the leadership bid in 1983. Friends say that only the emergence of a substantial draft-Clark movement could cause him to reconsider that decision. And at this point, that appears unlikely.

JEAN CHAREST, 54,
Minister of the Environment

Charest is bright, witty, well liked and well organized—he is also among the youngest members of the Progressive Conservative caucus. Charest has questioned himself as a symbol of change, hoping to win over younger Tories. As well, as the only likely candidate from Quebec, he is counting on capturing some of that province's large delegation at the leadership convention. But several major factors weigh against him as a small-town, bilingual Quebec lawyer, he may have too much to contend with Mulroney. After 20 years of leadership by a Quebecer, many Tories say that it is time for another region of the country to be represented at the helm. Many also view him as too

liberalizing, too young and too inexperienced. Charest appears worried by Campbell's popularity in Quebec and is trying to bolster his chances by seeking support from junior Quebec ministers.

BERNARD YALCOURT, 45,
Minister of Employment
and Immigration

As a French Canadian lawyer with roots in New Brunswick rather than Quebec, Yalcourt is popular among some employees. Tories' supporters appeal him for his willingness to accede to many of Quebec's demands—including a call to give the province more jurisdiction over government insurance and manpower training. He has also advocated some Quebec Tories by pushing for changes to the Unemployment Insurance Act that would eliminate benefits for people who quit their jobs without just cause or who are fired for misconduct. But while such strong stands often impress English Canadians, they have done little to bolster his popularity in Quebec. And without a strong base in that province, he has little chance of taking the leadership of the party.

BARBARA MCGOUGH, 55,
Minister of External Affairs

When leadership speculation grew intense last year, McGough steadily denied any interest in the job. Friends and foes who had lost her desire to lead the party. Others countered that McGough, a financial analyst, had been up to the challenge she could win. Over the past few weeks, supporters have tried to test the waters for a leadership bid—but it may be too late. A run at the leadership now seems doubtful and would be unlikely to succeed.

DONALD HAZARDONSKI, 57,
Minister of Finance

ANDREW BUCHANAN, 52,
Minister of Health and Welfare

The finance minister from Alberta and the health minister from Quebec once commented lightly that they could run as a team for the leadership—with the talented Macleodville attorney, who from the West Coast, the bilingual Buchanan winning Quebec. But in Ottawa, even a joke can spark speculation and risks. So far, there is no real evidence that either man—Buchanan would be a actual administrator and Macleodville a former law leader—is serious about seeking the leadership.



BARBARA MCGOUGH



JOE CLARK



PERRIN BEATTY



BERNARD YALCOURT

GOVERNING UNDER SIEGE

HOW A GOOD MAN RULED IN WICKED TIMES

Macdonald's ebullient Prime Minister has known Brian Mulroney well for 32 years. During Mulroney's nearly 8½ years as Prime Minister, Newman has had wide access to 24 Sussex Drive and a place to work Mulroney's unofficial biography. When the Minister stopped down last week, Newman summed up his days:

If the secret of governing Canada is knowing what touchy issues to leave alone, Brian Mulroney has been a dud. But if a prime minister's record is judged by his political will to risk unpopularity in the name of what he believes to be essential national initiatives, the boy from Inverness, Cape Breton has managed an achievement of impressive proportions.

No far judgment of his stormy first-in-office career has made out a desired survival separates the idealistic perceptions with which Canada's 18th Prime Minister was held from his lengthy list of legislative accomplishments. Whatever that assessment turns out to be, there's no doubt that Brian Mulroney permanently altered the political landscape of the country he governed for most of the past decade.

Never has there been a Prime Minister quite like this self-assured Inuk-Quebecer who hung up his political pants last week, after 3,082 days in office. His public support swung between the triumph of winning two consecutive Conservative majorities (something unprecedented in this century)—and a humbling 11-per-cent approval rating, the lowest ever recorded.

While some of his predecessors who enjoyed the good fortune of presiding over a more or less predictable electorate that believed in gradual evolution—characterized by the fact that it took on the scene to get out our gun—Mulroney found himself trying to govern a Canada in the grip of a profound social revolution and something close to an economic collapse. Everything changed. The case placed citizens who accepted these conditions before him rarely avoided such here deeply felt national characteristics as defiance to the established order of things. Almost overnight, political authority came to be regarded not as the guardian of "peace, order and good government," but as a force to be challenged and overthrown.

Mulroney thus became an agent of change in a decade that the country he leaves behind in this gloomy winter of 1990 bore remarkably little resemblance to the Canada whose governance he eagerly embraced on Sept. 17, 1984. During the interim, he raised more hostility and controversy than any Canadian prime minister in this century, being blamed for every bad aspect that fell from the sky.

If Mulroney suffered one fatal weakness, it was his tendency to assume personal blame for every ill of his ministers' own making. At crisis points in past administrations, prime ministers

such as William Lyon Mackenzie King, Louis St. Laurent, John Diefenbaker, Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau would back away from their politically wounded colleagues, cut them out of the loop, demand their resignations—then carry it all as if they had never known their names. Mulroney was often looking at his offending ministers and MPs when they were not just walking wounded, but walking dead. As a result, he became a national lightning rod, the target for every complaint from every corner of the country.

Mulroney's time in office proved out to be a long, near-winded by five calm interludes. He was in power longer than all but four Canadian heads of government (King, Sir John A. Macdonald, Trudeau and Sir Wilfrid Laurier), outlasted an astounding 19 provincial premiers and survived nearly every leader of the Western world. His record was all the more remarkable because he served no federal opposition, never leaving his job for any office except the top job. Mulroney gained his party's leadership in 1983 for three main reasons: his crowd appeal and organizing ability; he held out the promise of winning a majority of the seats in Quebec, which the party had not held in almost a century—except for the Diefenbaker sweep of 1958; and because he was not Joe Clark, whose government, elected in the spring of 1979, had died like an unwanted child nine months later.

During his first term, Mulroney attempted to maintain the popularity that gave him the largest mandate Canadians ever granted: an informal popularity by guaranteeing everyone everything. Using his best trick, Douglas Simpson to emphasize his concerns, Mulroney's idea was to spread as large an umbrella as possible over the ideological center of Canadian politics, then to pull a majority of the voters under it with him, so that the Conservatives' minority vote would be permanently expanded.

The other characteristic of those first four years was his intense persistence. He had come to political maturity in a federal Tory in Quebec. That makes you wish you could compromise being unshaken into compromise heaven, while you felt lucky there was not a heavy on your scalp. Mulroney took power determined to right the balance. And he did.

Two years he was criticized with a second majority in 1986 the first time a Tory leader had accomplished that since Macdonald in 1881. Mulroney had to make tough choices that placed the very future of the country at play. Assessing his record in how he dealt with those untamed issues, it is difficult to differentiate between those policies based on his personal sense of justice (opening frontier relations with the Americas, supporting South Africa, providing Oromo resettlement and bringing Quebec into the constitutional family), and those he felt compelled to implement in response to the unpredictable circumstances of the moment like Goals and Services Tax, free



trade with the United States, and later Mexico, and the 1990 constitutional referendum. His controversial policy initiatives and the unity and often politically damaging way they were implemented gradually secured the trust of the country against him.

The Canada Mulroney found himself governing was not the pacific, predictable kingdom provided by the literary critic Northrop Frye, but a nation grown hard and cynical, uncertain of its place in a rapidly changing world. Instead of being able to decide on orderly processes of issues and circumstances, Mulroney was forced to deal with a succession of shocking paradoxes: a political signals set by the winds—or, more precisely, the hurricanes—of change.

A consequence by temperament and inclination, the Progressive Conservative leader might have been expected to try to escape these social and economic upheavals by holding steady and doing as little as possible. Instead he believed he had to change the landscape, walking around the burning inquiry that had become Canada, punching holes into every hole he could find. More often than not, the Montreal lions along the man who had set them free.

In the end, Brian Mulroney became both the agent of Canada's social revolutions—and its chief victim. By choice and by circumstance, he turned out to be the most radical of Canadian prime ministers—radical, in the precise dictionary meaning of that word, in someone who "goes to the root of things and advocates fundamental changes." It was this puzzling mystery of the Mulroney legacy that its central figure was sacrificially condemned for being a political opportunist, animated solely by partisan concerns. Yet, if that had indeed been his sole motivation, he would hardly have spent more of his time and energy championing laws, parts and causes that earned no short or broad-term political benefits—only potentially distant, abstract costs.

Because he never articulated any cohesive philosophy, Mulroney's operational code was dismissed as being based mainly on keeping in telephone touch with his cronies and listening to what the boys at Montreal's Mount Royal Club were saying. This was an unfair accusation, not because he was a deep or original thinker, but because under that ambassadorial exterior and the one-hundredth reassurance of his voice, there still lurked the small-town chronicler's son from Rose-Corville with popular suspicions and a genuine concern for the underprivileged. Neither ruled out neoconservatism, Mulroney personified his party's exposure to Progressive Conservative ideal, believing much more in the former than the latter.

His brand of politics flowed from a trio of formative experiences: growing up under modest circumstances in Quebec's nominally marginal North Shore, attending St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., at a time when its guiding spirit, Father Moses Coady, vowed that he would implant a social conscience in all his students; and being a member of Quebec's royal commission on labor relations in the construction industry. There, 270 witnesses described the anarchy caused by unbridled racism and institutionalized capitalism, spewing tales of betrayal and officials being led to the back (Great tragedy for trying to run the Conservative party, which for the past 10 generations had been tearing itself apart by regularly devouring its own).

The sum of these experiences forged the future prime minister's conviction that extreme problems seldom resolve anything—and that while the social con-

tract was essential, western banks could be costly to the human spirit. Long before he got into politics, Mulroney had been preoccupied with losing Canada's economy more internationally competitive, believing as the American Lincoln thinks that "you cannot help the wage-slave by pulling down the wage-price, or help the poor by destroying the rich."

The problem with such ideas was that they ran directly counter to what was happening in the real world, where the hardest recession since the 1930s had turned industrial Canada into an economic slum. Suddenly, nothing mattered more: creating new jobs. That is what governments do in emergencies—or do, when Keynesian economics ended the riot. But as French President François Mitterrand pointed out, "Employment no longer responds to governments—and I mean governments to the point."

Throughout his term, Mulroney was at the impossible position of trying to please an electorate that expected too much from economic measures that had become, not just modest, but certain. With a bare treasury, demand set by his predecessor, Mulroney could not afford to offer any cutting-cost initiatives or the kind of massive giveaways that had kept Trudeau in power for 16 extraordinary years. Desperate, various contingencies by searching out their own purposes and priorities—a process added unconsciously by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The informal political agenda began to be defined by special-interest leaders dedicated to shaping the country as they saw it, even suddenly, no one who represented the established order of things was safe. It was the pressure of these special-interest groups that turned into a tidal wave and forced the Clark-Novak constitutional accord to the Oct. 26 referendum.

The problem with trying to arrest the politics of the past 25 years was not so much what Jesse Mulroney did or failed to do. What landed the dominant judgment of his era, instead, was how he was perceived by people whose only access was through the distorted looking glass of the mass media. He came to office just as TV was becoming the realm of instant record, with CNN, and later, CBC, *Newsweek* leaving the country on constant political alert. Every Canadian living coast became a whispering gallery, with political events flashed from coast to coast as they happened—well, not quite as they happened, since each tightly edited event was agonized before commentary that placed what was being described strictly within the reporter's own, often anti-government, perspective.

At the same time, there was something concerning about Mulroney whenever he appeared on TV. The country's glass eye made him set, not the hamlet, but like a small-town boy accused by lying because Prime Minister. But he could not let himself go. Anyone who had ever been teased by his decency and humor had trouble comparing him television image—yet that was how most of the country perceived him.

The one-sided front between Mulroney and the media started almost the moment he was elected. Only two weeks later, on Oct. 2, 1984, when Statistics Canada announced an unemployment increase of 29,000, CBC

TV news reporter Christopher Walsley cited the figure, showed a campaign clip of Mulroney promising "Job! Job! Job!" and concluded, "The Prime Minister has failed his first test." Shortly after his 1984 re-election, which he was against all odds, the first question at the first news conference he gave of three months, on the morning of what was to be his sweetest triumph, one of Len Waddington of Southern News. Referring to some of Mulroney's vague promises about limiting prime ministerial terms, Waddington demanded: "So, when are you going to resign?" As Mulroney later confided to a friend, "People tell me all politicians get a hangover. I only had 20 minutes after the coffee. I had that moment, I thought they might give me a drink, say a couple of days."

The material turning points of the Mulroney Years were the failures to

Tao-to-tao with John Turner over free trade in the 1988 campaign: he made tough choices that placed the future of the country in play

ratify the Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords, at never ceased to puzzle Mulroney why Trudeau's 1985 paragon of the Constitution that left Quebec out in the cold and his term ended by those judgments handed as a public triumph, while his own negotiations—started and almost entirely before the TV cameras—were never achieved consensus agreement for allowing Quebec into Canada's constitutional family, were dismissed as nonstarters.

Still it was the overwhelming Meech in October, as well as his gradual realization that no matter what he did, public opinion was broken against him, that finally drove Mulroney to decide it was time to go. The personal price of staying had become too high. Mulroney knew that on matter how good his intentions, the people no longer wished to remain his as custodian of the nation's well or government, and that his mandate to duty to country and party could best be served by achieving yet another milestone: becoming the only Tony Prime Minister in Canadian history to depart office voluntarily. He leaves the prime minister's house, having enacted more than 160 major pieces of legislation, with the high regard of the international community and with an unshakably secured as keeping the Tories united, which in some ways was his greatest achievement. Those who knew Jesse Mulroney best, loved him the most.

He was a good man caught in a wicked time. Only in retrospect will some of his most audacious initiatives receive the credit they deserve. □

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In contrast to his popularity at home, Mulroney was well liked by world leaders, making British Prime Minister John Major to remark last week, "I shall miss him." Mulroney enjoyed the international stage—he added memberships in Francophonie and the Organisation of American States to the list of Canada's international clubs—co-chaired a 1990 United Nations children's summit, and was briefly a candidate for UN secretary general.



Clicksies from top left: attending the 1985 Red Square funeral of Soviet leader Khrushchev; with Milla at Toronto's Harbourfront after 1983 Tory leadership campaign; visiting President George Bush with son Nicolas in Krausbackport in 1991; with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow in 1986, campaigning with the Beguins at the 1983 Shumenok Summit in Quebec City; receiving Margaret Thatcher, Strength O'Brien in 1984, posing with Caroline, Nicolas, Milla and Ben for the last official Christmas card from 24 Sussex Drive

COVER

THE COMPANY HE KEPT

THE PRIME MINISTER WON FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE ABROAD

ADJUSTMENT DAY

TURBULENT TIMES POLARIZED THE COUNTRY

In retrospect, Martin Brian Mulroney seemed an unlikely politician to lead Canada through the stark realities of the 21st century. His boisterous voice was more suited to lavish promises than both fulminating lectures and the exigencies of management. He seemed a man of wit and witless charm rather than idealistic conviction. But when Canada's 18th Prime Minister announced his intention to resign last week, he could point to an astonishing record of change. The Canada of 1984—with its broad social programs and its high economic aspirations—has vanished. Instead, nine years later, Canadians reluctantly recognize that they must pay more to receive less—and they must work harder to acquire the declining standard of living. Says political Michael Adams, the president of Environics Research Group Ltd. of Toronto: "His government has a lasting legacy: the exorbitant free-lunch is over. We have moved from the politics of affluence to the politics of sacrifice."

That government was massive and often painful. Indeed, under Mulroney, the federal government's role in the economy was the very role of the state in Canadian lives 30 years ago.

He vetoed huge Crown corporations such as Petro-Canada and Air Canada. He scaled back such hard but costly national symbols as Via Rail and the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. In 1984, attention was on the size of the deficit. It doubled, and admitted taxes so that, in a major turn-around, the money earmarked for government programs no longer generated revenues. It abolished family allowances and taxed low-income pensioners and welfare recipients. It negotiated its trade pacts with the United States and Mexico, opening areas previously closed to U.S. goods and local, protecting firms to foreign competition. Says Mulroney's former communications director, economist Marcel Côté: "He steered the government away from the welfare-state model, which was dragging us into bankruptcy."

But Mulroney did less to enforce law governments could spend more wisely. His ministers frequently imposed curbs and additional taxes, but rarely introduced old programs to meet new needs. When the Free Trade Agreement, for instance, took effect on Jan. 1, 1989,

Guiding the 1984 sweep, dropping a point in the 1982 referendum (opposite): his boisterous voice, social programs, not freedom

Ottawa did not devote major adjustment programs to most displaced workers. When Ottawa revised the Unemployment Insurance Act in 1986, it put more emphasis on manpower retraining—but it also cut \$1.3 billion from unemployment benefits by tightening the eligibility rules. As a result, Canadians have become increasingly polarized between those who survived the cold shower of change—and those who faced themselves with diminishing prospects. Observes Thomas Gorevich, senior fellow at the Queen's University School of Policy Studies: "Our economy was not ready for free trade. We did not have an adequate set of social policies. As a result, we are seeing the beginnings of a dual economy where there is a shrinking middle class. Some people are getting richer, but a greater number are getting poorer."

Mulroney's old-fashioned style contributed to that sense of division. In person, the Prime Minister is warm and sensitive, his words are seldom great leaps. On television, however, his words ap-



peared effusive and his sensitivity often seemed insincere. To add to those problems, the Prime Minister sometimes strayed from his own rules. He relied upon patronage during the 1984 election, but he frequently appointed friends to government posts. He denounced pork-barrel politics, but he constructed a prison, which cost more than \$90 million, within the boundaries of his former Quebec riding of Montcalm. As a result, Mulroney frequently appeared as an impediment to his own government's stated goals—and he often failed to receive credit for his government's successes. As pollster Adams notes: "He has tried to teach us the limits of government. The problem is that, in the public mind, he does not have the qualities of consistency and integrity."

In the end, historians will likely view Mulroney as a traditional Prime Minister. Although he encouraged Canadians to reduce their dependence on government programs, he failed to put forward a positive vision of government's role in an era of shattered expectations. His successors, whatever their political affiliation, will have to grapple with Mulroney's legacy: the deficit is at the top of the political agenda

and the public will no longer tolerate lavish public government projects that increase that deficit. But future prime ministers must also help Canadians deal with the impact of continental free trade. They will have to redesign and retarget social programs, they must do more with fewer resources. They must bridge the gulf between those who fear change and those who welcome it. Says University of Calgary historian David Leverton: "Free trade might work, for example, if programs are put into place to cope with the situation. The next government is probably going to be able to reap the benefits of what this government has done."

As a result, history will likely look upon Mulroney with more sympathy and more kindness than most Canadians now show. He was caught in the cross of change, his tenure spanned a time of economic upheaval and growing political cynicism throughout the Western world. When he failed, it was often because he employed shrewdness

and wit, many Canadians dismissed his two major proposals to amend the Constitution as old-fashioned attempts to broker interests. When he succeeded, it was because he fought, almost against his own political instincts, for an economic or social ideal. His success was not only political but also personal. He was a man of great energy and drive, perhaps that is the price of radical change in turbulent times. Mulroney's remains his legacy.

THE POLITICAL LEGACY

Before Mulroney's victory in 1984, the Conservative party had spent most of the postwar era as the opposition benches. There were flashes of power from 1957 to 1963 under John Diefenbaker and for one year in 1979-1980 under Joe Clark. But when Mulroney won the leadership from Clark in June 1983, the Conservatives were in poor shape. President differences over such policies as social programs had created warring party leaders—and the acrimonious leadership race had deepened those divisions. To Mulroney's credit, he united his squabbling party and played a role

two successive majority victories in 1984 and 1986, the first Conservative Prime Minister to do so—in Mulroney's first full term—since Sir John A. Macdonald. Election night, the party won seats in Atlantic Canada, Ontario, Quebec and the West. (Until a by-election in 1989, the Tories also held all three seats in the Yukon and Northwest Territories.)

That harmony was difficult to sustain—and Mulroney was not always inclined to regional sensitivities. His efforts to please individual regions occasionally backfired. In 1986, Ottawa tolerated media leadership rules to avoid a maintenance contract for CPM jet fighters to Montreal-based Canadian Ltd. Instead of United Aerospace Ltd. of Winnipeg. That incident created uneasiness—and encouraged the rise of the Reform Party of Canada. Another regional party, the Bloc Québécois, had its origins in the June, 1980, collapse of the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Indeed, Mulroney's very presence created difficulties for provincial Conservatives. Since 1984, the Conservatives have lost power in five provinces—Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Ontario and Saskatchewan.

To a surprising extent, however, Mulroney has managed to promote solidarity among his diverse national regions. Says economist Gail "There is nothing more dangerous in a diversified country than a federal government run by non-national parties. It puts one region against the other. Mulroney relieves the national [Conservative] party, bringing Quebec and Western Canada and Ontario into a federalist coalition. That is one of his greatest achievements."

But Mulroney also leaves formidable political problems for his party. One Prime Minister consistently reversed policies as a process of pleasing the regions. That is, to maintain Canadian unity, each region had to receive its share of federal spending. As a result, Mulroney popped up failing industries. In early 1989, for one, his government arranged a controversial \$1-billion takeover for loss in Quebec-based Doucette Inc. to counter its paper mill. The Prime Minister also relied heavily on such support programs in plywood mills in Prince George and Atlantic fish farms to shore up party popularity. But federal resources are scarce in the 1990s and his successors must find new ways to unite Canada. Says political adviser Brian Mulroney was produced by the politics of balancing interests. But politicians today must speak to Canadians about our common relationship to such things as inflation."

THE LEGACY IN FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL RELATIONS

Mulroney quickly worked hard to improve the strained relationship between Ottawa and the provinces. In late 1984, he settled a decade-long dispute over the \$1.6-billion in the continental-shelf oilfield cost of the potential revenue to Newfoundland. In March, 1985, his government concluded a new revenue-sharing agreement with the maritime and western provinces that effectively dismantled the former Liberal government's National Energy Program. Declared the Newfoundland premier Brian Peckford, "Mulroney was far more conciliatory than [former prime minister Pierre] Trudeau. He wanted the provinces to develop different economic and constitutional policies. He did not force [Trudeau's] emphasis."

But Mulroney did not solve all of the central problems the Trudeau board: to a federation, the national government and the provinces still



Compromising for Lucien Bouchard in his 1988 by-election, a guide to Quebec nationalists

fully compete for resources and powers. It is extremely difficult to balance these diverse interests. When the Prime Minister concluded the Free Trade Agreement with the United States in 1989, he ignored the bitter opposition of Ontario and Prince Edward Island. And when he successfully limited the growth of federal transfer payments to the provinces in 1990, he provoked angry demonstrations in every provincial capital. Natas Patrick Manohar, director of the York University Centre for Public Law and Public Policy, "If you look at the Mulroney years, you would conclude that the relationship between Ottawa and the provinces is worse than when he was elected in 1984. But you would also conclude that the relationship is going to get worse, no matter who is in power, because of Ottawa's significant debt."

Sgt. Mulroney's personal report with the provinces means better than Trudeau's. Peckford claims that Trudeau "boiled with tension upon the province." Adds former Ontario premier David Peterson, "Even when I was most angry at Mulroney and most violently disagreed with him on his national issues of policy, I never disliked him."

THE LEGACY IN GOVERNMENT FINANCES

From the start, the growth in Canada's deficit was a priority of the Mulroney government. In November, 1984, as a backdoor estimate, then-Prime Minister Michael Wilson outlined plans to curb the deficit's growth, including spending cuts of \$5.5 billion. Said Wilson, "We believe we must act now to avoid a future crisis."

The government has struggled to keep that pledge. It cut spending by \$1 billion (not the \$7.7 billion corporations and their 236 subsidiaries. It privatised an additional 36 corporations, including the 100,000 employees of Air Canada Ltd. and the overseas telecommunications firm Teleglobe. And Ottawa raised taxes, beginning with a five-per-cent surtax on income tax in its first budget in May, 1985. On Jan. 1, 1990, over the protests of many Canadians, it even slipped a seven-per-cent tax on goods and services, the widely resented GST. Last November, economist Patrick Goss of Ottawa-based Global Economics Ltd. estimated that the annual tax burden on the average family was almost \$2,000 higher as a result of Tory tax increases since 1984. Added Goss: "The tax increases since 1984 have been of unprecedented magnitude."

Despite that fever, the Tory record on the deficit is decidedly mixed. The actual size of the deficit has changed little: the 1984-1985 deficit was \$36.5 billion, compared with the 1991-1992 deficit of \$34.6 billion. To be sure, the deficit has declined as a percentage of gross

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BRIAN'S LADDER

FROM A YOUNG AGE, HE KEPT HIS EYE ON THE PRIZE

We have never forgotten what Bae-Concans has meant, still means and will always mean for us. It has shaped our perspective of Canada. It has shaped our idea of the country.

—Brian Mulroney, Bae-Concans, Que., July 1, 1987

Canadians would not always take their 14th Prime Minister at his word, but there could be little doubt about the sincerity of that deeply felt address, delivered to an audience of 2,000 in a local park on the 50th anniversary of his hometown's founding. Indeed, in many ways Bae-Concans exemplifies the balanced vision of Canada held by many Canadians. The town was carved out of Quebec's North Shore rock and wilderness at the mid-1800s by laborers and industrialists, including Mulroney's father, Ben, an electrician from the Quebec City area. French and English speaking, Catholic and Protestant, the settlers of Bae-Concans reached an easy middle ground in the pulp-and-paper mill company town where, on March 30, 1939, Martin Brian Mulroney was born in a house fronting a large industrial building filled with once as many beds as it was designed to accommodate.

Although he left the tightly knit community to pursue high school and university studies and, later still, work and political opportunity,

he returned to Bae-Concans again and again—first for jobs over 11 summers, then as a native son bent on representing his former neighbors as a federal politician. Says Lloyd Dubuc, a Bae-Concans town lawyer who wrote a book commemorating the community on its 50th anniversary: "His Mulroney may not get buried in Bae-Concans, but he has always had a very intense personal connection with the town and its people."

From the start, the young Mulroney was a slightly social—and political—individual. The third of six children born to Ben and Irene Mulroney, he grew up in two modest rented homes, both on Champlain Street and a short walk from the Quebec North Shore Paper Company mill where his father worked. An eager student and a determined, if not intensely talented athlete, Mulroney possessed other gifts as well. He was called on repeatedly by the mill's owner—and town founder—American newspaper publisher Col. Robert McCormick, to perform his wide repertoire of popular songs at the company's social affairs. He also was several upcoming contests.

But more than that, he had the ability to build bridges between the community's two language groups—and male and female friends on both. Says boyfriend friend Wilbur Toward, now a 59-year-old accountant for Canadian Ltd. in Montreal: "He was the

type of kid who could go easily from one level to another—one day playing with the children of the English top-management families, the next with the kids in the French-Canadian group." That quality was to serve him well in future leadership and election campaigns for a party today in need of allies in French-speaking Quebec.

Indeed, Toward and others say that Mulroney wore his political ambition on his sleeve at a young age. "Even as a little kid," Toward recalled, "he was always saying what he wanted to be one day—Prime Minister." And he announced himself in electoral politics with a passion. Becoming an ardent Tory almost as soon as he arrived at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S., in 1952. In 1956, he volunteered his services in the successful provincial campaign of Robert Stanfield, the Conservative Nova Scotia premier who later replaced John Diefenbaker as national leader. Meanwhile, Mulroney, a Halifax radio station owner who was appointed to the Senate by the new prime minister in 1986: "We shared the same tremendous admiration for Stanfield."

MacDonald, then a senior campaign worker for Stanfield, says that he was immediately struck by Mulroney's maturity and vision. "One word," he recalls, "described my first impression of Brian Mulroney—irresponsible. He was enthusiastic, charming and dogged—a doggedness he could always back up with perfect manner." John MacDonald: "If you told him, for example, to tie a pink ribbon in a dog's tail, it was tied—and in the right spot." Mulroney, then just 17, was quickly entrusted with major campaign responsibilities, travelling around the province, making speeches and writing radio commercials. Says MacDonald: "As a very, very young age he shouldered campaign responsibilities that, ordinarily, his age wouldn't warrant."

And even as an undergraduate, Mulroney had political connections that would rival those of seasoned politicians. Charles Keating, a 50-year-old lifelong Liberal who is now proprietor at a Dartmouth, N.S., cable television firm, was studying engineering at St. Francis Xavier when he and Mulroney joined forces on a championship debating team.

By then, Mulroney had become a friend of John Diefenbaker while serving as vice-chairman of "Youth for Dief" in his winning 1956 leadership campaign. Keating recalls that after Diefenbaker's 1957 election victory, he and several other students were sitting with Mulroney in the student dining room "when an announcement came over the loudspeaker saying, 'Brian Mulroney, Prime Minister Diefenbaker is on the phone.'" Says Keating: "You can imagine the catcalls and the squealing from the boys when they heard that. But Mulroney was very cool about it." Adds Keating: "In fact it was Diefenbaker, and shortly afterwards he came to the campus to see Brian. He sat in that same dining room and had lunch with him for all to see. That restored Brian's credibility in a hurry."

But Keating, unlike many who crossed Mulroney's path, never became a member of Mulroney's network of friends and contacts from university, that he maintained a healthy respect for his former debating partner. The next five years when Mulroney lost his first bid for the Tory leadership in 1959, Keating told liberal friends, "Thank God he didn't win—because if he had would never get out of him." Mulroney would one day defeat other classmates in his career—among them Fred Donnelly, who later served Mulroney as a senior adviser, and David Meade, who became a senator and member of Mulroney's cabinet.

Others, too, would be deeply marked by their brush with the energetic student leader who was Terry McCann, a senior Liberal from Pembroke, Ont., who, with a \$300 donation, became the first contributor to Mulroney's 1956 leadership campaign. Indeed, McCann joined the Conservatives on the day that Mulroney finally became party leader seven years later. McCann, now mayor of Pembroke, says that he has never lost touch with Mulroney. He added: "Friendships in him are golden; they are precious. He relies on them, values them and gives of himself to his friends in a tremendous way."

Mulroney's network of connections from St. Francis Xavier became the nucleus of a wide and ever-expanding circle of allies. He established even more close friendships at Quebec City's highly prestigious Laval University—and more still in Montreal's legal, business and media communities. Mulroney chose to study law in 1960 at Laval after a year at Dalhousie University in Halifax. At Laval, he was one of a number of students—among them an array of neighbors—who would later carve out reputations for themselves in national life. According to Mulroney's friend, sometime speech writer and biographer L. Ian MacDonald, the Prime Minister's greatest asset was deeply influenced by the "mistake" of President John F. Kennedy. As a result of Kennedy's 1960 election victory, said MacDonald: "Public service was glamorous—it was the thing to do."

Mulroney's interests at Laval included Michael Marston and



Mulroney with wife and newborn son, Benedict, in 1939, as a 17-year-old, with Diefenbaker at the 1956 Tory leadership convention (opposite), coming out an early network of friends and connections that rivaled those of more seasoned politicians

Michael Coopers (once appointed by Mulroney to the Senate after working as Conservative organizer), Bernard Roy (a future Mulroney principal secretary) and Peter White (who became a head of political advice). He also found a close friendship with Lucien Boivin, a Quebec nationalist, who Mulroney persuaded to enter politics after he named him ambassador to France. Wrote MacDonald in his 1994 biography *Mulroney: The Making of the Prime Minister*: "Of all the people who he would meet in the many months he would inhabit, none confounded him in better than Boivin." Boivin's 1990 defection from the Tories as a dispute over the Meech Lake accord, and his subsequent establishment of the right-wing Bloc Québécois, shattered that bond. Since then the two men have warmly acknowledged each other.

After graduating from Laval in 1964, Mulroney flitted briefly with the notion of becoming *financier*—in practice law (lawyer, the essence of Mulroney's career)—but took a position in the firm of Howard Cate Ogilvy, where he stood as a loyal lawyer with a fondness for his eight-hour day. In that capacity, Mulroney began to pave the way for his eventual political career. In 1968, he represented oil-pipe interests before a royal commission studying government relations on the Montreal waterfront. That experience laid the groundwork for an even more prominent assignment as co-counsel for the 1974 Clche concession strategy committee and violence in Quebec's construction industry.

Robert Clark, himself, asked Mulroney to serve on the commission. The widely respected former Quebec NDP leader had asked Mulroney (and predecessor in Laval) his commission, despite with revelations of vice and corruption that Mulroney later told lawbreaker Bernard Prime "could say he [Clark] propelled the coast, media savvy Mulroney into the spotlight. Indeed, Mulroney later told biographer MacDonald that it was "most unlikely that I could have done what I've done on the public side without that boost from the commission."

Justice Before his involvement in the Clche inquiry, Mulroney had lived the carefree life of a Montreal bachelor with many women friends. Then, in 1972, he met Mita Prevost, the 18-year-old daughter of Serbian-born Montreal physician Dr. George Prevost and his wife Bogdana. Mulroney was smitten. Although he was almost 15 years older than her, they married after 16 months of courtship and settled in Westmount.

At that point, Mulroney's political career took a new, more active turn. In 1975, after three successive losses to Liberal leader Pierre Trudeau, Conservative party leader Robert Stanfield announced

that he was resigning. Mulroney announced his candidacy on Nov. 13, 1975. But in the Ottawa leadership convention three months later, he faced an explosive array of Tory opponents, among them Claude Wagner, Flann MacDonald, Paul Hellyer and Joe Clark.

Mulroney's first foray into the rough-and-tumble of convention politics was illustrated from the start. Never before had he faced the media and inevitably given that the media and public reserve for those who aspire to national leadership. The qualities that had endeared him to his friends—loyalty, industry and generosity—were of little use in that wider arena. Indeed, critics said that he was too well-patched, sleek, manipulative, too spending and dislikable—qualities that were ascribed to him in later years, as well. Others within the party faulted him for his elected inexperience.

Still, Mulroney had some strong support. One was René MacQuarrie, an MP from Prince Edward Island since the Dorchester victory of 1957. With a handful of others, MacQuarrie argued that for the party to recognize the power it had lost 15 years earlier, it had to win seats in Quebec. Sen MacQuarrie, appointed a senator by Joe Clark in 1979, "Mulroney was a bright, vigorous man who spoke French as if it were no burden," added MacQuarrie. "I was impressed by the need to make the Quebec election more supportive of the Conservative party—and I was very grateful at the same time to have up by some more established types in the party who we could put some someone who was not from Quebec."

Mulroney's former political mentor, John Diefenbaker, was among those who had doubts about the young Quebec lawyer's qualifications. Diefenbaker's reaction to the convention seemed almost directly at Mulroney, who in 1985 had walked behind



the scenes to cast Diefenbaker from the Tory leadership. Said the former prime minister: "In the British parliamentary tradition, those that achieve the prime ministership must have had years of experience." In the voting three days later, Mulroney hung on for three ballots, playing far behind both Wagner and the successful Clark.

Journalism The loss emboldened the *Mystic* and Mulroney. A two-sided politician who enjoyed the company of fellow politicians and journalists in Montreal nursing holes—some of his favorites was the *Rita-Casting* team—he tried and failed to drown his sorrows. Life marriage occasionally suffered strains. Not even a job paying \$100,000 a year (\$151 in executive vice-president of the American-owned Iron Ore Company of Canada) soothed him. Still, Mulroney made a success of the position, becoming president of the company and achieving labor peace among

Mulroney with Clche (center) and commission colleague Guy Charrette. Near-courtesy: revelations

its 3,000 employees, turning a record profit and surviving a customer-led reduction in the size of the company's workforce that expelled the thousands of an office town—Schreiberville, Que.

Friends say that the birth of Mulroney's second son, Mark, in 1979 had a profound effect on his personal life. It forced MacQuarrie. "It was an important event. He did the coaching and went into the delivery room. He and Mita became quite close after that. And it was around that time that he decided he could do without a drink." These close to him meant that he was not touched alcohol since. (Later, in 1983, Mulroney broke a heavy cigarette habit.)

Mulroney's leadership ambitions quickly reignited when Joe Clark, who became Prime Minister as head of a short-lived minority government in June 1979, returned in the Opposition benches after the defeat of his government. While publicly supportive of Clark's party leadership, he lobbied furiously behind the scenes for Clark's job.

But it was Clark himself who, in the end, provided the opportunity that Mulroney had been seeking. At the party's January 1983, convention in Winnipeg, the then Opposition leader received a fraction more than two-thirds of delegate support—marginally more than he had won in a similar 1981 leadership review. Despite that respectable showing, Clark said that such a mandate was "not clear enough" and called for a leadership convention.

Mulroney was determined to avoid the same mistakes that had bedeviled his candidacy seven years before. No longer a bash newscast-

er, he entered the leadership race on March 25, 1983, the day after his 44th birthday, as a seasoned professional. He took care not to antagonize delegates and to place a fragile, quiet campaign out of the media spotlight, concentrating on winning votes rather than headlines. He emerged on June 31 as the clear victor, with 1,584 votes in Clark's 1,825 on the fourth ballot. In his 1984 victory speech, Mulroney told delegates at the Ottawa convention, "We reach out to Canadians and together—we are going to build a brand new party and a brand new country."

Endorse Mulroney moved quickly to heal the wounds in the battle-worn party—wounds that some Tories accused him of collecting. Gradually, he did so. Mulroney Clark said that "Brian and I are old friends," adding that he would work hand-in-hand with his successor.

Mulroney, too, was ready to work with his former mentor. He told Mulroney: "I've been working for the last 15 years in charge of his transition team. There were no hard feelings of my kind at all."

Mulroney quickly laid the groundwork for the next election. His friend and colleague Prime Minister John Turner called on election for Sept. 4, 1984.

To the wider Canadian public, Mulroney was still largely an unknown. He ran a low-key but reasonably successful campaign, offering little more than behind-the-scenes details of the policies he planned to pursue in a second term. He seemed to have gained the free enterprise system, gave "junk jobs and running shoes" to uncooperative bureaucrats and, above all, took to work to create "jobs, jobs, jobs" for an economy that was still struggling to recover from the 1981-1982 recession.

But months before that election, in January 1984, he had laid the foundations of a program that was substantially more than rhetorical. According to MacDonald, he told an advisory adviser Charles MacMillan that he would like to be remembered for four things: producing a constitutional settlement that would silence Quebec, restructuring the Canadian economy to meet increasing global competition, consolidating an international role for Canada and improving the lives of citizens. For the most part, Mulroney attempted to carry out that agenda when he moved to Victoria in early 1984. It didn't take long, the man from Rita-Casting succeeded—on others he will be remembered as a dramatic failure.

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GLENN GREEN





Last week at 24 Sussex Drive: 'If you don't win, you don't go anywhere'

PARTING SHOTS

'I AM CONTENT WITH MY LIFE'

Last week Bruce Mulroney ended a historic epoch in modern Canadian history when he announced that he will step down as Prime Minister following a June convention to select a successor. Dreamed comically, he answered questions from *Maclean's* Editor Kevin Doyle and Ottawa Bureau Chief Anthony Wilson-Smith on the private family quarters of 24 Sussex Drive while Photo Editor Peter Arzoo revisited the reasons he was so much loathed by his wife, Milla, and that allowed Doug to get the shot that appears on the cover. Excerpts from the two-hour interview.

Maclean's: When you see Mulroney, who is now seen, in an interview and taking a cover in Canadian studies, how would you hope the headline will describe your interview as Prime Minister?

Mulroney: I think there will be two facets to it. One will be the factual one. Your father had never been elected anywhere and yet he went to the House of Commons as leader of the

Opposition and led his party to the greatest victory in Canadian history. Then he was back-to-back surprises, the first such accomplishment by a Conservative leader in 100 years.

He left the Conservative party together, with caucus solidly united. He captured a majority on the Senate for the first time in 50 years for the Conservative party, and he became the fifth longest serving Prime Minister in Canadian history and the only elected Conservative Prime Minister ever to transfer power to a successor. In political history you can be nice and devoted and kind and all those things, but if you don't win you don't go anywhere.

What you see, surprisingly, in most of the leading journals today, from *The Globe and Mail* to *The Canadian* to *The New York Times* to *The Wall Street Journal* to the *London Times*, the general view is that this guy revolutionized Canada. He made profound and fundamental differences. I suppose that the question is, "were they beneficial?" And isn't when you have to wait for history, because only the

passage of time can tell you certain things. Maclean's: What do you think the Free Trade Agreement is your most controversial legacy?

Mulroney: When Canada negotiated the Auto Pact in the early 1980s, it was almost singlehandedly denounced by the NDP, the Canadian Labor Congress, the United Auto Workers, the Ontario Liberals, *The Toronto Star* and every left-winger in town. Well, it's been a success. It's the backbone of modern Ontario.

But it took 25 years for that to emerge. So it could very well be that 25 years from now, when they're having this tremendous banquet to celebrate the amazing success of the Free Trade Agreement, I'll have trouble getting a seat because [Canadian Labor Congress president and a vigorous opponent of the pact] Bob White and [National Action Committee on the Status of Women president, also an FTA opponent] Judy Hebbick will be saying it was their idea. (Laughs)

In my case the changes are there. Free trade with the United States, and the North American Free Trade Agreement, which will probably eventually extend to Chile, Venezuela, Argentina and Brazil. Those countries will form the richest trading market in the world by a long shot. And we'll be at the centre of it. Tax returns and the coin will still be in place. History can look back on the privatisations, the low interest rates, the low inflation rates and the Merck Lake and Charlottetown constitutional revives.

Maclean's: What impression have you formed of President Clinton?

Mulroney: In our first telephone conversation he milled off all kinds of things that I had done and he spoke admiringly of all the things that I talked. He talked about the excitement that he expected to encounter from the special interests and about the problems that he was going to have with health care, and tobacco and deficit reduction. So, he knew who I was. He knew what we had done.

Maclean's: And that surprised you?

Mulroney: No, because only a fellow leader knows how tough it is to pull your party together as he did or, perhaps, I did. When we got to Washington, I spent about three hours with him. It's kind of strange but it's almost as if I knew him well. He began to ask me about the budget. I said that you would worry about mistakes. Why don't you talk to me? I've made them all. I can tell you which ones to avoid.

Maclean's: What question stood out?

Mulroney: He had previous. Secondly, he got a good sense of humor. He knows the ups and downs. I mean, this is a guy who, a year

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TOWERS OF TERROR

A TERRORIST BOMB IS SUSPECTED AFTER FIRE AND PANIC ENVELOP MANHATTAN SKYSCRAPERS

Workers on the upper floors of the world's second-largest office building felt only a whisper, but within moments they were choked by a black smoke, which filled their corridors. Those closer to street level or passing through the parking garage underground actually heard the explosion. Concrete floors sank from under them, cars were tossed through the air and many were injured by flying metal or were trapped under heavy debris. The explosion that ripped through the Foundation of Manhattan's new 130-story World Trade Center towers last week killed five people, injured 1,042 others and occurred with no warning, on a hot day, on a chance to take over. More horrifying was the assessment by police of what had caused the blast: "An old probability," said New York City Police Commissioner Raymond Kelly. "This was a bomb."

It could have been even more deadly. At noon on a weekday evening, the Trade Center is one of the most densely populated places on earth. Located on the corners of Wall Street's financial district, the two skyscrapers, which reach one-third of a mile into the air, are the workplace for more than 35,000 people. Those who were inside at 12:18 on Feb. 26 when the explosion occurred told harrowing stories of escape from what threatened to become a towering inferno.

A pregnant woman was among 33 people plucked from a recent rooftop by helicopter, several other pregnant women struggled with the mass of people who walked down the stairs to escape stairwells that had buckled under as high as the 96th floor. And a class of Brooklyn kindergarten students waiting the Center as a field trip took several hours to walk down from the observatory on the 117th floor, where to leave off parents. "It was like stairs, cats, a herd," said Larry Rosenthal, 31, who walked 204 floors to the street where he joined thousands



Workers inhaling oxygen; victims getting aid (opposite) feeling violated

of others who burst outside, many bleeding, most groping for fresh air.

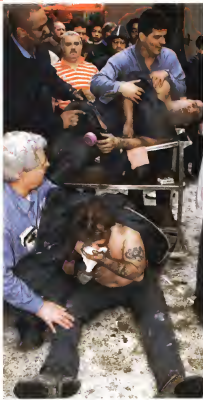
The damage was so extensive that investigators could not immediately reach the site of the explosion. That was crucial enough for them to suspect that a powerful bomb had been smuggled into the parking garage and detonated. The blast left a 60-foot crater in the underground garage and blew out a huge wall, rattling debris down onto the platform and tracks of a commuter train station below. Police also found traces of nitrate, often indicative of a bomb, and said that the amount of heat generated in the aftermath could not have been caused by an electrical fault or gas explosion, said New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. "It looks like a bomb, it smells like a bomb, it's probably a bomb."

Police also received at least nine phone calls claiming responsibility for the blast—only after the fact. If it was a terrorist act, New Yorkers fear the most frightening aspect of vulnerability to which residents of such cities as Cairo and London have grown accustomed. Indeed, a bomb placed inside a truck on a fashionable street in the north London shopping district of

Camden Town exploded just one day after the Manhattan drama, injuring 14 people. But Law downed the instant riotous bombing campaign by the Irish Republican Army with a curfew order. New Yorkers, despite being hardened to daily acts of random violence, were left stunned by the Trade Center blast and fearful by the prospect of a terrorist act that might be waged against American cities on American soil. "We all have that feeling of being violated," said Cuomo. "In a New York, I expect to find out what happened and who did it."

Until then, New York officials said that they had increased security measures at major sites and at airports. And security was heightened in Washington on a occasion against further attacks. "What used to be the safest city in the world will be safer still," Cuomo said in an attempt to reassure New Yorkers. But Denise Rosen, a secretary who walked down 83 flights of stairs to escape was debriefed. "I'll never go into that building again," she said. "I'm sorry I'm not going back in there. Ever."

BRUCE WALLACE



World Notes

MOGADISHU'S MAIN STREETS

Chasing "Go home, Americans," supporters of clan leader Mohamed Siad Barre blocked roads and attacked U.S. convoys with knives, stones and bare hands during two days of rioting in the Somali capital, Mogadishu. The riots, sparked by Siad's accusation that the U.S. military was supporting rival warlord Mohamed Siad Barre, left a reported nine Somalis dead and at least 30 others wounded. Nigerian, U.S. and Rwandan troops later engaged Mogadishu's gunmen in the most violent battles since the 33,000-strong multinational force arrived to restore order in Somalia last December.

DROPPING IN

An fight continued between Maldives and rebel Souths as war-torn South America. President Bill Clinton announced that American military supply aircraft would go on drops of aid packages this week. Clinton confirmed that the airlift would be "limited and strictly for humanitarian purposes." At week's end, U.S. airplanes began dropping thousands of leaflets warning the combatants not to interfere—and asking civilians to look out for the 1,000-plus packages of food and medicine falling from the sky.

NUCLEAR ISRAEL


The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service estimated that Israel has produced as many as 200 nuclear warheads since 1978, and now has sufficient materials and technology to build five to 10 weapons a year. Western intelligence reports had formerly estimated the number of warheads produced by Israel's highly secretive nuclear program at fewer than 100.

A PAVILION

In a letter to Catholic Archbishop Vito Pappalardo, Pope John Paul II urged pregnant rape victims in Bosnia-Herzegovina not to have abortions, but to "transform an act of violence into an act of love and welcome." An estimated 20,000 women, most of them Muslim, have been raped in the Bosnian conflict.

NEW DELHI BACKDOWN

After weeks of violence between Hindus and Muslims over ritual slanders to a holy site, and a casualty toll of at least 2,000 lives in December and January, 75,000 police were deployed in New Delhi to quell a government protest march organized by the Hindu nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party. Security forces detained 1,800 of the 30,000 protesters, including 210 members of Parliament for the BJP.

A romantic couple is seen from the chest up, sitting on the deck of a sailboat. They are facing each other, smiling and holding hands. The man is on the right, wearing a white shirt, and the woman is on the left, wearing a light-colored top. They are illuminated by the warm, golden light of a sunset. In the background, the masts and rigging of many other sailboats are visible, creating a sense of a busy harbor. The water is calm, reflecting the orange and yellow hues of the sky.

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LOGGING PROFITS

CANADIAN LUMBER PRICES CLIMB TO NEW HIGHS AS U.S. SUPPLIES SHRINK AND THE RECOVERY INCREASES DEMAND

Perhaps the worst job asking the courts in the Canadian forest industry is that the price of lumber is going through the roof. "It's soaring," says a logging industry newsletter in Vancouver. "I am running out of words to describe what it's doing. Lumber prices are at absolutely unprecedented, unswelled heights." Many lumber industry experts say that the phenomenal price run-up is going to continue. Saul John Brown, chairman of the largest lumber wholesaler in Canada, Green Forest Lumber Corp. of Toronto, "A few months ago, I predicted that the wholesale price of an eight-foot two-by-four could hit \$2.66 and the Maple Leafs would win the Stanley Cup. Well, now two-by-fours have almost hit \$3, the Leafs look pretty good and I don't see any reason why a two-by-four can't go to \$4." At the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, where futures contracts for commodities including orange juice and pork bellies are traded, the boom in lumber prices has even begun to attract amateur speculators. Said senior forest industry analyst Donald Roberts of *Livestock, Poultry & Gold* Inc. in Montreal, "It seems that even the doctors and lawyers have started playing lumber futures."

In the otherwise depressed world of commodities, lumber has suddenly become a hot property. Prices climbed up through most of 1992, but in the past three months, tremendously in the slowest period of the year they began to soar. Since the end of October, the price has more than doubled. For the financially beleaguered Canadian forest sector, such a large revenue stream is badly needed. Overall, the industry lost an estimated \$1.5 billion in 1992 and as two other main groups, pulp and paper, are still reeling in and out, the lumber surge is highly unusual, according to industry experts, because it has been primarily caused by timber



Lumber export terminal in Vancouver: a hot property on commodity markets

supply shortages in the United States, where about 75 per cent of Canadian lumber is sold, rather than domestic markets in demand. Said Coter: "A year ago, there were people who had basically written off the lumber sector. Now, there are people calling it the superstar of commodities."

Although lumber producers are clearly delighted with the sudden price increases, however, not all their customers are so. In Vancouver, at Capital Lumber, manager Dan Peebles says that the retail price of an eight-foot two-by-four has suddenly increased to \$4 from \$1.68, the biggest, heaviest jump he has seen in

his 30 years in the business. He estimates that it will increase the cost for wood products including timber and plywood as a new home by \$7,000 to \$18,000, a hefty increase in a market like Winnipeg where the average home price is about \$100,000. "It's outrageous to talk to old customers," says Peebles. "They think I'm going crazy." He added that in mid-winter, initial customers began to plan spring and summer renovation projects for their homes and cottages and his product went out at the lowest price increase in going to cause some customers to delay or cancel such projects. "I used to be able to give them a quote

that was good for 30 days," he said. "Now, it's good for 30 seconds."

Industry veterans say that the main reason for the shortage of lumber, particularly in the United States, is that federal and state governments are seeking wide more forest land for environmental purposes. In the Pacific North-west, huge tracts of land have been removed from forest production to protect the endangered Northern Spotted Owl. Joseph Healy, general manager of North American Lumber

As a result, lumber prices have been rising steadily since the last week of October, when the price for the industry benchmark unit of lumber, 1,000 board feet of kiln-dried spruce, rose to its two-year high, was \$258 as compared to \$248. Lumber prices in other regions vary according to transportation prices and other market conditions.

By mid-January, the price had risen to \$308 and then stabilized. Then on Jan. 20, the price began rising again and by 23, when it stopped at \$365. Said Healy: "We asked ourselves \$308 ago, how much higher it could go. It is creating a whole new set of circumstances and there and we just do not know what will happen."

At the same time, the heavily loaded of prices causing some industry writers to speculate that pulp prices are soon follow. "The bigger story is that it is going to create pressure in wood chips," said Toronto investment manager Paolo March, whose Alcatraz equity mutual fund has been holding shares in such companies as Bionco, B-C-based Forest Industries Ltd. also fell sharply. The basic raw material for pulp is wood chips.

Scarcity is produced on a by-product from sawmills, while others come from logs that pass through chipping machines. In the longer term, many of the trees that are now used for pulp could be turned into higher value items, said March. "Already, we've seen a developing shortage of wood chips." He cited a mill that closed down in the western United States two weeks ago because it ran out of chips. He added that Cohen says that down capacity, that has an effect on prices.

Others, however, disagree with such optimistic assessments. For his part, Adam Zimmerman, chairman of Maranda Forest Inc. of Toronto, says that increased lumber production will create more wood chips and, as a result, could put downward pressure on pulp prices. As well, Zimmerman also expressed pessimism about the long-term price of the current lumber price. Declared Zimmerman: "I just don't believe that a true growth to the sky."

Meanwhile, the entire Canadian lumber industry from forest to lumberyard, is waiting to see which side is correct. Daniel Perrin, director of national lumber and building materials for Toronto-based Beaver Lumber Co. Ltd., the largest lumber retailer in Canada, says that he can see no reason for prices to fall. Said Perrin: "It really all comes down to the question of whether consumers are going to be willing to pay the price for the lumber and new homes are going to go." But as for, the lumber industry's gas has come out of the home buyer's pocket.

SHERRA DALGLISH

Business Notes

LOOKING SOUTH
International Trade Minister Michael Wilson introduced legislation that will bring the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) into force. Wilson said that the government wants the legislation, known as Bill C-29, to pass by June. The bill would amend 29 existing Canadian statutes ranging from the Income Tax Act to the Copyright Act. NAFTA, which the governments of the United States and Mexico must also approve, is scheduled to take effect in January, 1994.

TURBULENCE AT PWA
Calgary-based PWA Corp., which owns and operates Canadian Airlines International Ltd., has posted a second \$543.5-million loss for 1992. The company is in the throes of a financial restructuring and is also attempting to conclude a deal with American Airlines Inc. of Fort Worth, Tex. The writer recorded a \$303.2-million charge for 1992 covering the cost of its asset restructuring, including investment writedowns and the cost of cancelling and deferring the delivery of new aircraft. On Feb. 15, PWA's competitor, Air Canada, reported a \$454-million loss for 1992.

A ROYAL AFFAIR
Royal Trustco Ltd. has announced that its search for a partner to supply needed capital has come down to the Royal Bank of Canada, the country's largest financial institution. Although both Toronto-based companies declared a dividend, industry analysts say that a final deal will probably take several months to complete. Also last week, Dominion Bond Rating Service Ltd. of Toronto cut its ratings for the Royal Bank because of the prospect of an increase in the bank's bad loans. The bank's profits fell to \$107 million in 1992, down from \$183 million in 1991.

PETROCAN SHARE SQUEEZE
A group of investment dealers last week, at a cost of \$10 million in a new issue of Petro-Canada shares. Last week, about 24.5 million shares of the Calgary-based oil producer were sold on Canadian stock exchanges at \$7.25 plus \$1 in November, a syndicate of 16 dealers shared \$20.3 million, sharing from Petro-Canada for \$7.02 each, offering to resell them at \$8.25 for a profit of about \$1.10. But many investors, including pension funds and other institutions, balked at the price, so syndicate of 16 dealers shared \$20.3 million, offering to resell them at \$8.25 for a profit of about \$1.10. But many investors, including pension funds and other institutions, balked at the price, so syndicate of 16 dealers shared \$20.3 million, offering to resell them at \$8.25 for a profit of about \$1.10. But many investors, including pension funds and other institutions, balked at the price, so syndicate of 16 dealers shared \$20.3 million, offering to resell them at \$8.25 for a profit of about \$1.10.

Accusers on trial

A debate rages over the Paul Bernardo case

A two-storey colonial style suburban house in the Niagara city of St. Catharines last week, police wearing white coveralls, rubber gloves and plastic shoe covers conducted a carefully timed search for clues in a grisly assassination that has become a media sensation. The officers carried out cardboard boxes filled with seized material and, at one point, a wooden barrel almost as long as a police cruiser. They introduced two cars into their porters for delivery, along with the boxes and the barrel, to the Centre of Forensic Sciences in Toronto for examination. The search by the Niagara Regional Police was based on their stated suspicion that two teenage school-girls found murdered in the last two years had been held in the house. Indeed, the search began after the Niagara police announced that gender charges would be laid against the alleged house's tenant, Paul Bernardo, 28. That announcement followed Bernardo's arrest by Toronto police on Feb. 17 and his arraignment for an earlier series of sexual assaults in that city. But on Feb. 23, as the search proceeded, a written Niagara police statement declared that a decision on murder charges had been made "definitely."

That statement, issued by Niagara Police Chief John Sheviller just a day before the previously accused defendant of Bernardo's murder, stirred up as already uneasy debate over the handling of the case by police and its treatment by the news media. As well, it provoked questions about the validity of the accusations against Bernardo. Ontario Attorney General Martin Bopd, whose officers ordered police to stop talking publicly about the case, said that she had no intention about the timing of murder charges—or whether charges would be laid

at all. Ray Fox, Bernardo's defence lawyer at the time he was charged in Toronto, was one of many critics who asked that, in the face of the rule that even an indicted person is presumed innocent unless proven guilty in court, police and the media "have already tried and convicted the man" before a charge had been laid in any evidence produced. Adding to that controversy an accusation



Police removing material from Bernardo's house: a media sensation

most issued by the Ontario coroner's office last week that it is reopening its investigation into the death on Christmas Eve, 1990, of Emory Lyn Hamilton, the 15-year-old sister of Karla Homolka, who Bernardo married in Canada later after fleeing to St. Catharines from the Toronto suburb of Scarborough. News agencies had previously reported that Tammy died the day after she choked on her own vomit during a pre-Christmas Hamilton family gathering that included Bernardo

Three reports were among a spate of media stories that stirred into Bernardo's life. "They find both the tenderness of Bernardo to his good character and also recorded that he had declared personal bankruptcy in 1990 after amassing \$25,000 in credit-card debts, was questioned by Toronto police in November, 1990, as a suspect in a series of rapes but his responsibility as an accountant in April, 1992, for mismanagement of assets during the following month to legally change his name to Paul Jason Steele, a charge given of four days before his arrest, and, was charged in early January with assaulting his wife with a flashlight, after which she left him and went to the police. As well, Bernardo's 17-year-old father was recently convicted on sexual charges and his sentencing was scheduled for March 2 in a Scarborough court—where his son was booked to appear on the same day for a trial hearing. The timeline this case has occurred is unprecedented," said Toronto lawyer William Tindell, a vice-chairman of the Canadian Council of Criminal Defence Lawyers Association. "It is really attracting the possibility of holding a fair trial."

As a sidebar to the controversy, comments by police expert sources between the Toronto and Niagara forces. Niagara police Insp. Vance Devlin, leader of a task force investigating the St. Catharines-area murders, indicated that the timing of the Toronto media's report of Bernardo's arrest as a Scarborough rape suspect unduly forced the pace of the Niagara investigations. "We would have preferred to have the pins as well as we had somewhat of a focus and a press conference on Feb. 28. In fact, Toronto police officers quite of acceptance in the media and that it was their tip that focused the Niagara here, which had contained hundreds of leads in the murder cases without success. The Toronto critics also as questioned the competence of the Niagara police.

The crimes under investigation in Niagara were also simply brutal. On June 13, 1991, Leslie Mahaly, 14, a Grade 5 student in the Lake Ontario community of Burlington, went missing. A 16-year-old found her (unconscious) corpse on June 28—the day of Bernardo's wedding—in a reservoir known as Lake Ontario near the city the body cut up with a power saw and placed in a casket. And on April 16, 1992, police say, Karla Homolka, 15, was abducted to the very house from St. Catharines high school. She was raped and



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CRIME

murdered and her male body was found in a wooded ditch in Burlington. After Bernardo's arrest, Bevan told a Toronto press conference that the murder investigations still had "a long way to go." In Chief Savelle's statement on Feb. 25, he said that "in concluding that the decision regarding criminal charges will be deferred, the investigators have taken into consideration that Mr. Bernardo is otherwise lawfully detained." He added that "the safety of the public has not been, and will not be at any time in the future, be compromised."

The charges in the Toronto indictment form a gross catalogue of violence: nine counts of sexual assault with a weapon; eight counts each of robbery and forcible confinement; the counts of sexual interference and three of buggery; three counts of choking; two counts of aggravated sexual assault; two counts of sexual assault causing bodily harm; one count of sexual assault and one count of

sexual assault. The implication becomes that he is no longer a criminal. As a result, Poling asked his aid to examine a number of the Bernardo stories to assess the fairness of the coverage. He added: "I'm concerned about the poison tree philosophy."

Teleview's competitor for images of the accused has been waged pugnaciously. Stephen Harbut, director of news programs at CITY TV, said that, like other Toronto television stations, CITY had been offered an entire videotape footage of Bernardo at wedding receptions and with friends on holidays. He said that CITY had turned down the videotape and, on the whole, "we [the media] have handled this pretty judiciously." That he acknowledged that some of the bodies for new information on Bernardo may have been too aggressive, adding: "It is our responsibility to take a look at ourselves and how we are covering the story."

Both Poling and Harbut say that the police have intensified the atmosphere: Poling



Bernardo's accusers

and that some of the news conferences staged by the Niagara police appear to have been held for political purposes rather than to dispense information. In one such case, during a news conference at St. Catharines a few days after Bernardo's arrest, police appeared on a stage with the murder victim's families in front of huge banners of Mackinlay and French, further brightening an already noisome atmosphere. But, some journalists say that the coverage of the trial is indicative of a change that has occurred in Canadian society. McEwen Cobden, director of the school of journalism at King's College in Halifax,

said that in the past the police would have simply announced that the charges had been laid. And the media, he added, would have been reined enough to wait and publish information about the case as it was revealed during subsequent court proceedings. But Cobden said that he believed that Canadian society is no longer as restrained as it once was and that the media is reflecting that new openness by becoming more aggressive—particularly if the story involves a sex case. "We are no longer a repressed society," said Cobden. "We are living in a tabloid world."

Allen Hutchinson, who teaches Canadian legal law at the Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, said that he is troubled by the growing perception that Bernardo is guilty. He added that the media seems to be paying only lip service to the assumption in law that a person is innocent until proven guilty. Said Hutchinson: "In that case, there is an assumption that he is guilty until he proves himself innocent." But not only the media are at fault, Hutchinson added. For one



MacInnis: 'a responsibility to take a look at how we are covering the story'

thing, he suggested, the Ontario coroner's office should have waited until murder charges were laid before releasing an identification of the death of Tanya Lynn Houston. "The thing was wrong," said Hutchinson. "They could have waited."

High-ranking politicians have also added to the controversy surrounding the case. Last week, a day after Anthony Genuis, Bognor, dared police to stop talking about the case, he told reporters that he "fully expected charges" of murder to be laid against the man-

pect. But two days later, she appeared in a booklet on the issue, stating, "I have no information that gives me any sense of what the thing might be or whether there would be charges laid." Boyd's apparent confusion, Trudell said, only added to the controversy—and kept the story in headlines.

There are other elements in the complex and often puzzling murder and assault cases that draw public attention on the story. For one, police sources say that Karin Horvath, who is believed to be staying with her family, may have provided key evidence in Bernardo's arrest. Horvath has kept out of sight, and some press reports say that her lawyers are negotiating with the attorney general's office to determine her legal status in the proceedings. Last week, as police pursued their investigation of the resident Karin Horvath case, shared with Bernardo, a steady stream of curious people strained to get a glimpse inside the closed house. Such curiosity seemed certain to persist—and to stimulate controversy over the rules of both the accused and the accusers—until the regulations normalizing the crimes in two cities are finally resolved.

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Naked ambition

The Barenaked Ladies blend rock and satire

With raucous music and laughter, cheap, car crash-like and byline power car crashes, Scarborough, Ont., hit all the elements of a successful would-be rock act on the eastern fringe of Toronto, it is just waiting to be launched—or so it seemed to Steven Page and Ed Robertson. When the two wince-cringing graduates of Scarborough's Wilfrid Laurier College decided to form a musical group in 1994, they found an abundance of contemporary material right on their own turf. The best ironic satirical schlock in songs so common to Steven Page and Ed Robertson's hometown, Neil Young and McDonald's customers had to understand the point, the self-described "nerds" adopted "punk wear" consisting of three-store shirts and Bermuda shorts. Now one of Canada's hottest acts, they are currently on a 21-city tour, crisscrossing the country, which began in Victoria on Feb. 13, the Barenaked Ladies are also beginning to win serious attention outside their home country. The U.S.-based mainstream magazine *Rolling Stone* has named them as one of the best new acts in the U.S. for 1995, while London's *Melody Maker* declares, "They are, quite deliberately, fun."

An oddball success story, the Ladies include five males—guitarists Page, 25, and Robertson, 25, drummer Tyler Stewart, 30, and brothers Jim and Andy Cunningham, 28 and 25, on bass and keyboards, respectively. None dated. Cause-and-effect seems from the start. Working from the basement rec rooms of their parents' homes, in 1990 the group released an independent cassette, which sold an unprecedented 88,000 copies, demonstrating a fervent, if not a devoted, audience. Featuring a heavy acoustic sound, the band's theatrical songs—especially those about pop music, figures from Wilco and Tokyo Grrr—became instant radio hits. Since spring with New York City-based *Six* Records, whose roster includes Madonna, the group has reached another milestone: its debut album, *Garden*, released in July, has sold 500,000 copies in Canada—almost unheard-of for a new act.

At the same time, the Ladies have spearheaded a new breed of Canadian music—each "a full comedy." The movement includes such rising talents as Toronto's Moby Project and Corby & the Juice Pigs. But the trend owes as much to TV comedy performers like *The Kids in the Hall* or Mike Myers as it does to other comedy acts. Rascal has, as occasion, plunged the Barenaked Ladies into the bar world's political correctness, their music often got the group banned from Toronto's city hall only last year when one official declared that a objected women. And recently, *Melody Maker* declared in a live from *BFI* that \$1,000,000, a satirical Ladies song that refers to the wearing of fur as

next best, he said drummer Stewart insisted that the group is neither sexist nor insensitive to nature imitators. "The last thing we want to look like is a stupid rock band," said the bemused, bearded Page. "But we also don't want to look like we're performing all the time about nature. I just think it's important to have a little humor in space."

There have been no agree. Ladies concerts are copies of sophisticated fun. Made up of mostly high-school and college students, satirical music is a delight at their home-grown gay-friendly of Madonna, as *The New Kids on the Block*—and three *Kristi Dwyer* boys—into the stage in recognition of the band's possessed

love of lowbrow food. Page, who along with Robertson writes most of the band's songs, suggests that young people are attracted to the Ladies' lack of rock 'n' roll posing. "It's the goofy thing," he said. "We don't pretend to have been born with leather jackets and side guitars in our hands. Scarborough has always had a really low self-image. Growing up, we were ashamed to come from there. But I think that's where our humor comes from."

As students, Page and Robertson were both in the gifted program of the Scarborough school board. Right last school, they met at a music camp and found a creative outlet in writing and singing songs that dealt glibly with pop

culture and their own suburban roots. Like Roger's *Planet*, in which Myers and Dana Carvey need to rock and tear through, the Ladies' material offers a series of sardonic references for a generation raised on a diet of music and television. "We've done a pretty testable job of doing this," said Page, pointing at imaginary charcoal choppers in the musicians' portraits that dominates his song *Living on Mars*, and providing to sample either music tracks or TV shows. Added the musician: "You could say we were kids who grew up with *Seinfeld* controls in our heads."

NICHOLAS JENNINGS

Southern comfort

A Carolina girl tries to mend her broken heart

RICH IN LOVE

Directed by Bruce Beresford

The first thing to get over is wetness. British actor Albert Finney playing a pool of southern rain named Warren O'Brien. Drowning and sloppily dressed, he finally reveals sleeping in a ditch while his "daddy" looked for work and his "mommy" insured him that they were "back in love." Although Finney proved his versatility long ago, even he seems overwhelmed by a script that requires its characters to sport homogenous homilies about life with a capital L. Given the stellar quality of its cast and creative team—screenwriter Alfred Uhry and director Bruce Beresford collaborated on *Driving Miss Daisy*—*Rich in Love* is surprisingly bad. Mannered and morose, it suffers from the same faults that afflict its heroine, Lucille (Daphne DuRoi). "I'm not a selfish woman, Lucille," her sister, Rae (Sissy Spacek), tells her. "It's just fear of death."

Based on the novel by Jacqueline Kimbrough, *Rich in Love* is a coming-of-age story about a teenage girl who experiences painful stills in her previously rock-solid family life. One day, Lucille returns home to find that her mother, Helen (Jill Clayburgh), has disappeared, leaving a note about her need "to start a second life." Lucille becomes the center of the household, comforting her stricken father but growing increasingly upset as he finds solace with Vera (Piper Laurie), an engaging housekeeper. Meanwhile, the troubled Rae returns home several months pregnant and with her new husband (Dale MacLachlan) in tow.

The movie relies too heavily on the southern eccentric school of characterization as Clayburgh's Helen is etched but without, as though she were a fragile creature out of Tennessee Williams who had gone for too-serious training. Other roles are simply too sketchy: the source of Rae's distress seems to be a mystery to her brother, Rich in *Love* tries too hard instead of being insightful; it is simply grating.

DAVID TURBIDE

The MacLean's *Bad Mother* last now appears in *Opening Note* (page 6)



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Keep it simple, stupid

BY STEPHEN MacLEOD

At last, encouraging progress. Your friendly federal government, through its bankers in everything that counts—the Constitution, unemployment, budgetary deficits all spring to mind—has finally declared war on incomprehensibility. It scarcely needs to be understood—at all the very least, be misinterpreted in a language the rest of us can understand.

It wasn't so long ago, you might recall, that an agency of the United Nations declared Canada the least accessible country in which to live. Now, while not wanting to jump the gun, it's quite possible the friendly folks will soon bring us the gold medal for comprehensibility. Last known, they're trying. And with every passing day, more and more Canadians are beginning to grasp just what Ottawa is struggling to say. Not only is the government upscaling the drive with a daring adviser booklet, "Plain Language Clear and Simple," but a whole new genre of industry is beginning around it.

The 16-page booklet, widely distributed in government, explains for the benefit of translators that "plain language" writings is a technique of organizing information in ways that make sense to the reader. "Clearly, a good start," simplification is in the air. There's just as the Constitution and regional diversity used to be the things. There are startling indications that the government actually wants to be understood. And that, you'll agree, is diametrically opposed to the traditional objectives of official obfuscation—the use of how many options—and butts—can be covered with one paragraph. Quite apart from the bewilderment, which comes courtesy of the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship, we now have a half-dozen of Ottawa companies winning official biddings for the benefit of the jarring public. Participants, there's a whole new breed of consultants roaming the country, and peddling wisdom, while toasting themselves the beauty of comprehensibility. It takes time this

There are startling indications that the government now wants to be understood by Canadians

was done in schools. It was called Learning

Some of the new breed even apostatized—to the point of advising male interviewees about the importance of plain language to accompany plain talk. One, we're told, points out that heavy male legs on television are a distraction to plain talk. Long words please. But let's not get into the weeds.

There's one subtlety Ottawa fans, with the apt name of Prosebutters, with a dozen or so verbal simplifiers on staff, steady at the drop of a suffix to tell us what the government, and others, meant to say. It's a million-dollar business.

The objective of Prosebutters, say owners Cecilia Blanchfield and Norman Bloor in "Between the growing tale of white-collar war crime." They set up shop in the right town. According to Blanchfield, their verbiage can also shorten government declarations by 60 per cent without any loss in information. Take this sentence from one government document: "To make these determinations requires a flow of information that allows appropriate and timely action to be taken even in relation to activities that are contemplated within a very short time span."

It came out of Prosebutters like this: "Good

judgments require a steady stream of accurate information even when events happen quickly."

This from government: "The interest in all aspects of the course and resolution of the emergency may be a focus in its effectiveness."

Prosebutters: "If you know what caused the problem, it's easier to fix."

And who could fail to admire the postal official who declared, "This is an issue that is significant for the region. It is a statement of the issue for the primary mode of delivery."

Prosebutters: "It's important to put the post office in the right place."

It's a crying shame that Prosebutters, or some other free-entertainment word squanders, didn't get a shot at this advisory, which, we guess, is aimed at bankers. A provision of these regulations that applies to a dog of a size and making a voyage described in that provision also applies to any ship of a size to which the provision applies that is not making the described voyage but is within waters that it would be within if it were making that voyage."

So we learned right

Then there was the bureaucrat who enthusiastically answered a call from the sector general for improved monitoring of job-creation programs. The department, he wrote, "will continue to strategically allocate its program evaluation resources to maximize their effectiveness in meeting the evaluation needs... it will expand its program evaluation analyses, where cost effective, to take into account cross-jurisdictional influences..." Next we go on! Anyway, Blanchfield perhaps had this memo in mind when she said, "We have to expect these crimes against words."

It goes without saying that Prosebutters, etc., would make short shrift of those "clunked" expressions that are supposed to put a major and greater force on people who aren't of conditional put-up quality. Most of us probably never heard much fault with "short" until we learned a best friend was "verbosely challenged." And for the benefit of those who don't have immediate access to a professional simplifier, "verbosely challenged" means the subject is, well, rather fat.

As the government's plain-language book tells government writers, "It takes great understanding of one's subject and of one's audience to write plainly." So, what about the supervisor who phoned last Thursday that "his machine is for reformatting printed media."

Patriciously, Prosebutters got there in time. "Use this to heat up your lunch."

But everything has its downside. And the way things are working, if only a question of time before Canada once again has "best people." It's much more useful to have an "unimpaired understanding." And who knows, we might even find old-fashioned drunks among us. No more return of "habitués" disorganizing lifestyle behavior."

But it's unclear whether this is simply Canadian or whether "plain" means "plain," which would, of course, demand a more "pragmatic" approach on "a level playing field."

Steven MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service.

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